INVISIBLE RESIDENTS: ARCHAEOLOGICAL EVIDENCE AND THE QUESTION OF INDIGENOUS PRESENCE AT HOUSE C OF BRITISH FORT MICHILIMACKINAC, 1765-1781

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ABSTRACT

Michel-Rolph Trouillot's theory of "silences" states that much of the knowable past is ignored or discarded in order to create a coherent narrative, which we call "history". Over the past 60 years, archaeologists and other scholars at Colonial Michilimackinac have constructed a narrative that centers on white male traders and soldiers while silencing the presence of Indigenous peoples. Steps towards a more nuanced narrative have been made in recent years, but there is much that can still be done.

This thesis attempts to evaluate evidence for Indigenous presence at House C of Fort Michilimackinac. Using personal use and adornment artifacts, ceramics, and faunal and floral remains from House C and comparative sites, I will explore the possibility that Indigenous or Métis women lived and worked at House C, despite their absence in the documentary record.

My hope is that this thesis will prompt other archaeologists and academics to reconsider who or what has been silenced in the standard narrative of the fur trade. Reevaluation of the archaeological narrative could lead to more holistic interpretation at Michilimackinac, reshaping visitor experiences and how we - as scholars - create history.

BIOGRAPHICAL SKETCH

Kathlyn Guttman attended New York University's College of Arts and Sciences, earning a B.A. with Founder's Honors in Anthropology with a minor in music in 2016. She entered the M.A. program at the Cornell Institute for Archaeology and Material Studies in Fall 2017 with a focus on North American fur trade archaeology. She has volunteered as an archaeologist at Colonial Michilimackinac every summer from 2015-2018.

Dedicated to Dr. Joanne Guttman

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INTRODUCTION

As a field, archaeology has struggled with the representation of Indigenous peoples (Klimko 2004). The field's beginnings as the pastime of wealthy white antiquarians produced an archaeological narrative that focused on the lives of the wealthy and famous, rather than on the lives of marginalized people. Additionally, archaeology's colonialist origins have always been evident in its methodology and interpretation. In North America, early archaeological "excavations" of Indigenous sites were more akin to looting - with European-Americans searching for curios to keep or sell - rather than systematic investigations (Trigger 1989). The interpretations of these Indigenous sites were no less colonialist; 19th century archaeologists and antiquarians attributed impressive Indigenous-made structures, such as Cahokia or the Angel Mounds in the Midwest, to a lost white race that was wiped out by 'war-like' Indigenous people (Trigger 1989). Later culture-historical and processual archaeologists mostly eschewed these fabricated theories but held on to the concept of violent Indigenous incursion by relating cultural change to war and migration. While new archaeological paradigms, such as post-processual, feminist, and Marxist archaeologies, have made progress towards the slow decolonization of the field, there is still a long way to go: employed and published archaeologists in the US are still overwhelmingly white and male, and this lack of diversity has resulted in a lag in the acceptance and application of decolonizing efforts (Altschul and Patterson 2008, Bardolph 2014).

Like the field at large, fur trade archaeology has been a product and producer of colonialism (Trigger 1989). Fur trade archaeology focuses on the post-Columbian exchange which revolved around the lucrative fur and felt industries in what is now the United States and Canada, from the 16th to the late 19th century (Nassaney 2015). Concerted archaeological investigations of fur trade sites, specifically French or British trading posts and forts, began in

the early 20th century due to resurgent national interest in early Euro-American history (Nassaney 2015). For decades, the main goal of fur trade archaeology was to reconstruct forts for public consumption in the form of museums, but after years of fur trade archaeology that focused on cultural-historical typology and reconstruction, some change is occurring (DeCorse and Beier 2018). New post-processual paradigms have expanded the focus of fur trade archaeology to include studies of women, Indigenous peoples, and other underrepresented groups (Scott 1991a, Klimko 2004, Jordan 2014). However, just like the larger field, the subdiscipline of fur trade archaeology is lacking in diversity. Only a small number of Indigenous scholars (e.g., Supernant 2018) participate in the subfield. Euro-American archaeologists tend to only excavate and analyze fur trade forts or posts, rather than all sites which were related to the fur trade, such as Indigenous encampments, villages, or hunting sites. This focus on sites built and recorded by Europeans and Euro-Americans skews the archaeology towards the analysis of European lives. Nevertheless, many fur trade forts – including Fort Michilimackinac - would have had large, if not majority, populations of Indigenous and *Métis* (mixed French and Indigenous) people (Klimko 2004).

Fort Michilimackinac is an 18th century fur trade fort located in northern Michigan along the southern side of the straits of Mackinac, which connects Lakes Michigan and Huron. Since the 1950s, Fort Michilimackinac (re-dubbed 'Colonial Michilimackinac') has been excavated and gradually reconstructed by the Mackinac State Historic Parks as a living history museum. At the modern fort, costumed interpreters educate visitors about Fort Michilimackinac and its residents during the 1770s, which falls into the fort's British-controlled period. Due to Fort Michilimackinac's unique history as the longest running archaeological project in America, archaeology and history have always been utilized in tandem for the fort's interpretation

program. The first years of archaeological excavation at the fort were commissioned in 1959 by the Mackinac Island State Park Commission to provide accurate architectural information in order to reconstruct it as an open-air history museum, in the vein of other popular sites like Colonial Williamsburg (Maxwell and Binford 1961). The reconstructed fort stands today in a much-expanded form, bringing in thousands of visitors a year. Even though Colonial Michilimackinac has become much more inclusive over the past sixty years, just as at other fur trade sites, the archaeological and historical interpretation of Fort Michilimackinac has lacked attention to marginalized people.

This thesis takes a step in the direction of representing and interpreting the Indigenous presence in the archaeological record of Fort Michilimackinac. Combining primary documents and personal artifacts, ceramics, and floral and faunal remains excavated during the 1983-2007 seasons, I explore the idea that Indigenous people contributed substantially to the archaeological record of Fort Michilimackinac, even though they were rarely documented. My analysis centers on deposits from the British-period occupation of House C (also known as the Solomon-Levy-Parant House, see Fig. 2), which spanned from 1765 to 1780 or 1781 (Halchin 1985).

It is important to note here that, as Barbara Voss (2008:120) stated in her study of ethnogenesis in colonial San Francisco, "archaeological evidence is underdetermined". In other words, archaeological evidence is never fully conclusive, and all archaeologists must rely to some degree on interpretation. As such, my goal is not to definitively prove whether an Indigenous or Métis person lived at House C, but to re-evaluate the evidence with potential invisible residents in mind. Hopefully, this research will prompt archaeologists, historians, and interpreters working at Michilimackinac to reevaluate the current paradigm of interpretation,

which often pushes Indigenous people to the periphery of life at Michilimackinac, and to re-center marginalized people as vital participants in the social and economic life of the fort.

Fig. 1: Map of Northern Lower Peninsula of Michigan
Location of Fort Michilimackinac marked with dot.
(Wikimedia Commons)

ERASURE IN THE FUR TRADE

Like many pursuits in historical, or post-Columbian, archaeology, the archaeology of the fur trade suffers from the rarity of historical documentation produced by anyone but the overwhelmingly white, male, and European upper-class. As such, Indigenous people were not the only ones who suffered erasure in the documentary record: ethnic minorities, the poor, women, the disabled, and gender and sexual minorities are equally underrepresented. Archaeologist Stephen Silliman (2010) has previously addressed the erasure of Indigenous peoples in post-Columbian archaeology using Haitian anthropologist Michel-Rolph Trouillot's

(1991) concept of silencing. Trouillot seeks to illuminate the multi-layered way in which history is created or denied; as such, this theory can be a useful tool when examining the many ways that archaeology and history has under-represented minorities in the fur trade (1991). Trouillot (1991:26) states that silences can enter history at "four crucial moments": the "moment of fact creation" (the event itself), "the moment of fact assembly" (the creation of archives or records), "the moment of fact retrieval" (the combination of records to create a narrative), and "the moment of retrospective significance" (the reification of the narrative as history). In Trouillot's (1991:27) conception, all histories are "a particular bundle of silences," rather than a linear creation of immutable facts, as popular history and high school textbooks would have one believe.

Trouillot (1991:44) illustrates the concept of silencing with a case study of the "uneven power of historical production" surrounding the Haitian Revolution, and the ruins of the Haitian palace dubbed *Sans Souci*. He begins with silences inherent in the sources from the Haitian Revolution, which focus heavily on the physical structure of Sans Souci, the palace constructed by Haiti's first king, while barely mentioning Colonel Jean-Baptiste Sans Souci, a man who nearly changed the course of the revolution (Trouillot 1991:48). Silences about the roles of Sans Souci the man and Sans Souci the palace were created at many points: although the sources on Colonel Sans Souci's importance existed and were known, their retrieval was infrequent, leaving Haitian historians with a history that focused on the palace while silencing the man (Trouillot 1991). As Trouillot's case study shows, we as scholars can create silences by our retrieval and curation of the historical record just as those who first wrote the primary documents created them.

The modern interpretation of the fur trade is rife with silences created by sources and scholars, which are then reified by the public. Narratives, such as those portrayed by history museums, academic publications, and popular media like the 2015 movie *The Revenant*, imagine a fur trade dominated by white males and the activities they engage in. For many years at Colonial Michilimackinac, the depiction and narration of the lives of Indigenous and other marginalized peoples was peripheral. However, major steps have been taken to rectify the lack of Indigenous representation at Fort Michilimackinac in recent years, in the form of new informational videos and collaboration with the local Little Traverse Bay Band of Odawa Indians. Nevertheless, silences can occur at every step of creating history, and there are many more ways in which these silences can and should be addressed, as outlined below.

The first set of silences created at Fort Michilimackinac were those created by the fort's residents in the 18th century, when they selected what persons, events, and thoughts they found significant enough to record. Silences were also created in the archaeological record of Michilimackinac in the 1700s, although the residents did not know it. Archaeological silences at the source differ from historical silences. They are intentional in a different way: the archaeological record is a collection of personal selections of what should or should not be discarded, taken, or left behind. Luckily, the selections (or lack thereof) that result in the archaeological record often create a site full of those broken, minor, or illicit objects which people inadvertently or purposely "silence" by discarding or hiding. Therefore, the archaeological record gives us the opportunity to study those things which were silenced within written sources.

The creation of archives at Fort Michilimackinac also introduced silences. Sizeable documentary archives are available for study at the Mackinac State Historic Parks: however,

these archives (like any archive) are not all-encompassing. The librarians and historians who curated these archives were and are limited by time, space, and financial constraints, and like all curators, enacted their biases about what materials were significant enough to be saved. Additionally, many documents that would fill silences in the archives of Fort Michilimackinac were likely lost due to accidental damage and discard over time. For example, we lack full account books from any of the traders at Michilimackinac, even though they certainly kept records of their trade activity.

The excavation of Fort Michilimackinac created the archaeological equivalent of a documentary archive, with ceramics, food remains, and other artifacts as the primary documents. Like historians and librarians, archaeologists are limited by time, space, and funding. Archaeologists must be selective about what is collected when excavating; not even the painstakingly fine screening techniques used at Michilimackinac can recover every miniscule bone fragment or tiny seed bead. Excavation also creates its own documentary sources and archives, in the form of the forms and notes archaeologists use to record the features and stratigraphy destroyed by excavation. Again, not every detail of every artifact or feature can be recorded: to be able to create any sense out of the archaeological record and to be efficient at their job, archaeologists must select what parts of the record they will and will not collect or pay attention to. Some information inevitably will be missed.

When historians and archaeologists analyze the documents and artifacts from Fort Michilimackinac, they create silences while simultaneously creating a narrative. As with creating archives, the creation of any narrative requires silences: not every aspect of every document and artifact can be analyzed simultaneously. Scholars' intentions guide what type of narrative they create out of the archives: scholars who intend to see the lives of Indigenous people at Fort

Michilimackinac create narratives that include Indigenous peoples, while scholars who focus on the lives of Europeans tend to silence Indigenous existence. The archaeological narrative suffers from the same problem: archaeologists (such as Maxwell and Binford 1961, Heldman 1978, Halchin 1985) tended to relate their findings to the *recorded* residents of the fort, most of whom were white European or Euro-American men. Synthesis of historical and archaeological records is necessary and important, but because the silences created within the historical and archaeological record carry over into the creation of narratives, the analyses cumulatively reinforce these silences over time.

Finally, silences are further created and reinforced in the selective portrayal of records, archives, and narratives as *history*. History at Fort Michilimackinac is reified through mass-produced publications, news and media concerning the fort, and most importantly, by the written and living interpretations shown to museum visitors. The history that Colonial Michilimackinac portrays affects the visitors' view of the fur trade. Of course, over its sixty years as a museum and archaeological site, the interpretive program at Colonial Michilimackinac has changed drastically. Return visitors who first came to Colonial Michilimackinac in the 1960s or 1970s recount a very different experience, including the display of an Indigenous person's skeleton in an exhibit.

Now, the first-time visitor to Colonial Michilimackinac is oriented by an exhibit and short video upon arriving on the shore of Lake Huron. When visitors enter the reconstructed fort, they are greeted by costumed interpreters dressed as British soldiers and French-Canadian laborers. These interpreters, most of whom are white and male, often dress to represent the wealthier merchants and soldiers who inhabited the fort. Like all museums, Colonial Michilimackinac interprets within limited space and time, so the costumed interpreters and

exhibits educate the visitor about only certain topics. Some of Colonial Michilimackinac's most popular guided tours focus on topics such as food and gardening, military life, or *voyageurs* – the French-Canadian laborers of the fur trade. Despite the constant presence of Métis and Indigenous people in and around the fort during the British period, interpretation of Indigenous life has, until recently, been mostly relegated to a single reconstructed wigwam and a single costumed interpreter outside of the fort. That is not to say that the exhibition and interpretation staff at Colonial Michilimackinac have not made great interpretive strides in the past few years; with the help of the local Little Traverse Bay Band of Odawa Indians, a new orientation video released in 2018 begins with an explanation of the Odawa peoples' history in the Straits of Mackinac. In addition, Colonial Michilimackinac recently employed Indigenous people to interpret the lives of an Indigenous man trading at the fort and an Indigenous or Métis voyageur.

Despite increased efforts to collaborate with Indigenous people on interpretation, silences are inevitable: Colonial Michilimackinac cannot hire enough costumed interpreters or create enough exhibits to interpret every nuance of life at Michilimackinac, nor would so much information result in an enjoyable visitor experience. Nonetheless, silences concerning Indigenous people at Michilimackinac still exist, and academics and staff at the fort can always make critical improvements.

Previous archaeologists have discounted the presence of Métis and Indigenous people within the British-era fort not just because of the lack of documentation surrounding Indigenous residents, but because a British law passed after Pontiac's Rebellion stated that no Indigenous persons could live or spend the night within the fort's walls (Henry 1966). Archaeologists and historians have uncritically assumed that this law was followed to the letter. However, there is reason to believe that the enforcement of this law was more flexible than previously thought. For

example, the Langlades, a prominent Métis trading family, were entrusted with command of the fort after the attack and were not expelled after the British returned (Henry 1966). As in the Langlades' case, Indigenous or Métis people may have continued to live within the fort by way of goodwill, bribery, or lack of enforcement. Additionally, the enslavement of both Indigenous and African people at Michilimackinac has gone mostly unmentioned at Colonial Michilimackinac, likely due to lack of records and the sensitivity of the topic. Owning enslaved Indigenous people was likely common among the upper classes at British Michilimackinac, judging by the existing records (Henry 1966). Enslaved African people also existed at British Michilimackinac, although only two enslaved and one free African resident are known from records. I have chosen to focus exclusively on the presence of enslaved Indigenous people; the topic of enslaved Africans deserves equal attention, but is outside the scope of this thesis.

Where silences exist that are detrimental to the holistic interpretation of the past, we as scholars must try to rectify the situation. At Fort Michilimackinac, the silences created within the fort's sources and archives have already been reified: although we can search for otherwise unknown extant documents, we cannot go back and create more primary documents or re-excavate a site that has been destroyed. Therefore, archaeologists and historians must begin to rectify these silences at the *narrative* stage, analyzing and re-analyzing our sources and archives in ways that challenge their silences. The reasons to do this are twofold: first, the past is not singular and objective, but multiple (Trouillot 1995). The facts which are used to create an 'objective' history are simply one kind of bundle of silences. Secondly, the histories made up of these bundles of silences are not static objects, but dynamic concepts that inform and are informed by contemporary worldviews. As the people who get to *create* the history that visitors at Colonial Michilimackinac and other museums receive, we archaeologists, historians, and

interpreters must be conscious of what kind of historical story we are telling, and how these stories can affect visitors' interactions with other people and cultures.

A BRIEF HISTORY OF FORT MICHILIMACKINAC

The area that is now Colonial Michilimackinac, a coastal stretch of land along the Straits of Mackinac at the northern tip of Michigan's Lower Peninsula, was first permanently occupied by French Jesuit missionaries at the end of the 17th century. There is little evidence that this coastal beach was occupied for any significant length of time by Indigenous people before the Europeans' arrival; while its location at the confluence of Lakes Michigan and Huron made it a prime trading point, it also made the area a cold, windy, and inhospitable place to live. The first iteration of Fort Michilimackinac was as a center for the fur trade and a palisaded fort was built by the French captain Marchand de Lignery in 1715, which was garrisoned by a small military contingent and included a Jesuit mission (Heldman 1986, 1991). It remained in French hands until 1761, primarily serving as a site of residence and protection from local tribes for fur traders and *voyageurs*, with very few French soldiers stationed there.

The French origins of Michilimackinac informed the architectural styles employed at the fort. Most of the residences were built in the French medieval *poteau-en-terre*, or post-in-ground, style, meaning the fort had to be entirely rebuilt about every twenty years due to support post decay (Heldman 1986). Row house residences were constructed with shared walls and chimneys, probably to conserve fuel and heat. The 1749 map of the fort by Michel Chartier de Lotbinière, a Frenchman commissioned to map the Great Lakes region, shows the arrangement of rowhouses at Michilimackinac (Figure 2). House C is near the top left corner, marked with the name of the first family known to live there, the Parants.

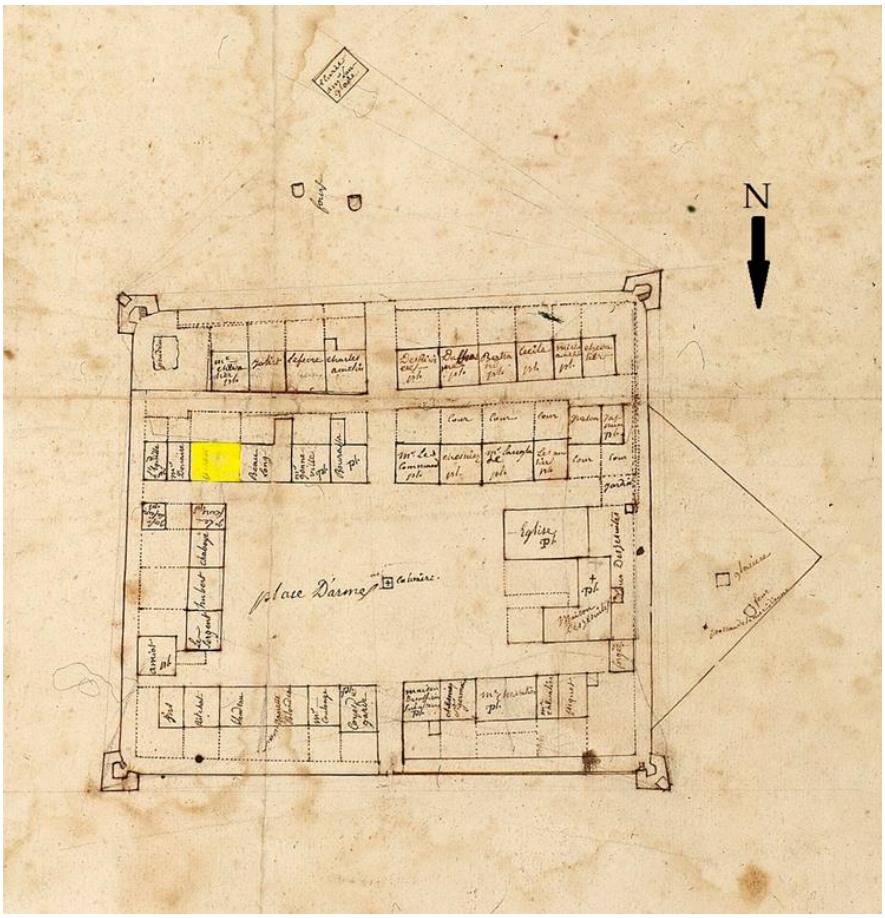

Fig. 2: Michel Chartier de Lotbinière Map of Fort Michilimackinac, 1749. The Solomon-Levy-Parant House is marked in yellow in the upper-left corner. (Library and Archives of Canada NMC – 12806)

Because of the events of the French and Indian War, the British military wrested control of the *pays d'en haut* (the "upper country") away from the French. Fort Michilimackinac was a key entry point into the trading territory of the *pays d'en haut*, so the British installed their military at the fort and encouraged British-affiliated traders to set up shop, but also allowed French fur traders to continue living at Michilimackinac under British administration (Widder 2013). This created a population divided between French fur-trading civilians and the British military elite, which can sometimes be recognized in the archaeological record (Maxwell and Binford 1961). British rule was not welcomed with open arms by the French-Canadian traders or

the local Indigenous people. The imposition of new British laws that eschewed traditional French-Canadian trade practices further increased tensions between British residents of the *pays d'en haut* and the Ojibwe, Odawa, Fox, and Sauk nations. This culminated in Pontiac's War in 1763, a colony-wide coordinated attack by certain Indigenous nations on British-controlled forts. The war played out with great drama and bloodshed at Fort Michilimackinac, resulting in the deaths of most of the fort's British residents. While the war seemed to be an Indigenous success at first, British troops took back many of the forts, including Michilimackinac, within the year and instituted even harsher laws regarding trade (for an in-depth discussion of Pontiac's War at Michilimackinac, see Widder 2013).

The British rebuilt the fort around 1768 but continued to use the *poteau-en-terre* method for their residences. Despite strict British laws surrounding trade, Michilimackinac's Native, French, and British populations continued to grow and a community, commonly known as the *subarbs,* formed outside the fort's walls. All occupation of the original Fort Michilimackinac ended around the year 1781, when the British feared American forces in the Illinois country and Lake Michigan would attack. To better defend themselves, and to not leave any shelter for the American troops, the British dismantled Fort Michilimackinac and moved it to Mackinac Island, burning what could not be moved. There the British rebuilt it as Fort Mackinac, which was not taken over by the victorious American forces until 1796. Fort Mackinac now serves as Colonial Michilimackinac's Victorian-era (1880s) interpretive counterpart.

HOUSE C: THE PARANT-LEVY-SOLOMON HOUSE

Documentary evidence has allowed archaeologists to establish a chronology of occupation at House C, although there are still questions left unanswered by textual evidence. House C is part of the Southeast rowhouse, a series of five interconnected *poteau-en-terre*

houses that shared walls and chimneys. The Southeast row house sits on the *Rue de la Babillarde* inside Fort Michilimackinac, with household gardens on the south side of the row house and the military parade ground to the north. Multiple authors have stated that the Rue de la Babillarde (the Street of the Gossips) was considered a poorer, slum-like section of the fort, citing primary texts written by Lotbinière in 1749 (Heldman 1986:29, Kent 2004, Widder 2013). Archaeological evidence suggests that some sort of structure existed on the land before the first Southeast row house was built, probably dating to the 1715 French fort (Halchin 1985).

The first documentary record of the residents of House C is the Lotbinière map (Fig. 2), which marks the Parants, a French fur trading family, as owners (Heldman and Grange 1981). Plenty of information in the form of birth and marriage documents at Michilimackinac's St. Anne's Church is available for the Parant family (Kent 2004). Multiple men from the family were listed as *voyageurs* in records, suggesting that they were hired laborers rather than owners of a fur trading enterprise, and therefore had a lower status. However, it is worth noting that Pierre Parant, the family member that owned House C when it was sold in 1765, was the acting commander of Fort Michilimackinac for a short time after the fort was attacked during Pontiac's War (Heldman 1986:25). Despite the relatively low economic status that the family's titles imply, Pierre had enough social standing to be given command of the fort while all British residents were exiled by Pontiac's warriors, complicating ideas of how status and wealth were entangled at Fort Michilimackinac.

After the British takeover of Fort Michilimackinac, a document of sale indicates that on June 29, 1765 the Parant family sold House C, along with other assets, to Ezekiel Solomon and Gershon Levy, two German-Jewish fur traders who had built their career trading with the British military and aspired to a place among the wealthy British merchants of the colonies. Solomon

and Levy had been trading at the fort since the British acquired the *pays d'en haut* in 1760 (Widder 2013:129). The document contains agreement for the Parants to remain in the house until they moved away from Fort Michilimackinac, suggesting there may have been some overlap between the two occupations (Halchin 1985:38). The House C purchase took place shortly after Pontiac's Rebellion in 1763; the attack at Michilimackinac and other forts had financially ruined the partnership of Jewish merchants in Montreal that Solomon and Levy had previously belonged to, forcing them to part ways with their three other partners (Widder 2013). A court deposition given by Solomon indicates that part of his trading goods were stolen by French traders and Ojibwe conspirators at Fort Michilimackinac during Pontiac's War, which no doubt contributed to the partnership's ruination.

The documents surrounding Solomon's life during Pontiac's War gives us one of the few records that regards an Indigenous person residing within the fort (Widder 2013). There is documentary evidence that Solomon owned and sold a *panis* (a colloquial term for an Indigenous slave) woman during Pontiac's War, so it is possible that other Indigenous slaves resided at House C (Widder 2013). Of course, Solomon and Levy did not purchase House C until after the war had ended, so it is highly unlikely that this specific unnamed woman resided with them at House C, but she was sold to a British officer who also returned to Fort Michilimackinac (Widder 2013). Although Solomon had been living and trading at Fort Michilimackinac for around a year by the time of Pontiac's War and we have quite a few documents regarding his movements and trade, this is the first and last mention of his ownership of a slave. Of course, we have no document of Solomon's original purchase of the *panis* woman, so we cannot know how long he owned her, but it appears that he bought her sometime before the attack at Michilimackinac and sold her a few weeks afterwards. Other traders at Michilimackinac were

also known to own *panis* slaves, such as the Langlades, a French-Métis family, whose slave figures prominently in Alexander Henry's account of the Pontiac War attack on Michilimackinac (Henry 1966). It is likely that Solomon purchased the *panis* woman as household help, like the Langlades, but could not keep her while he was held captive during the war, hence the surviving document of sale. After he and Levy purchased the Parant's house, the two men may have needed household help once again. This may seem like speculation, but the archaeological record of House C provides some support: Halchin (1985) suggests that there may have been small-scale production of lead shot in House C, even though lead shot was frequently imported. Production of shot for trade may have required additional helping hands, which Halchin (1985) suggests could have been Métis or French-Canadian women, probably slaves, servants, or the wives of soldiers or voyageurs.

Archaeological evidence suggests that the Southeast rowhouse was rebuilt around the time that Solomon and Levy moved in, and that wooden floors were added to House C at this time (Halchin 1985). Excavations indicate that the western room of House C was covered in plaster, while the east room likely was not (Halchin 1985). Licenses for trading and other documents indicate that Ezekiel Solomon continued to live and trade at Fort Michilimackinac seasonally until its destruction, but Gershon Levy did not return to the fort or continue living at House C after about 1767 (Halchin 1985). Documents also show that Solomon lived with his wife and family in Montreal for most of the year, and none of his family are known to ever have visited or resided at Fort Michilimackinac (Scott 1991a). Unfortunately, there is no documentation after the sale of House C from the Parants to Solomon and Levy that indicate how long Ezekiel Solomon continued to live there or if other people took up residence. The post-wooden floor levels of House C possess extremely high percentages of trade goods when

compared to other houses at Fort Michilimackinac, so that it is likely a fur trader continued to live there (Halchin 1985). Combined with the lack of a second document of sale, this suggests that House C remained Solomon's legal property and a storage facility for his trade goods until it was destroyed.

Starting in about 1779, the British residents of the fort began to slowly move their possessions and homes to Mackinac Island because it was a more defensible position in the event of attacks from the new American forces looking to push out the British. Over the course of at least two years, residents dismantled many of the structures at Fort Michilimackinac and moved them to the top of the steep, defensible hill from which the area derives its name (Michilimackinac means "Great Turtle" in Ojibwe). Solomon moved to Mackinac Island, but he did not dismantle House C and rebuild it. Instead, like many whose houses were in poor repair, Solomon burned his house so that encroaching American soldiers could not use it (Halchin 1985).

EXCAVATIONS AT HOUSE C AND COMPARATIVE HOUSES

Archaeological preservation of House C was aided by the 1857 establishment of a city park in the area where Fort Michilimackinac formerly stood, and the subsequent lack of development in the area. Wind-blown sand from the shores of Lake Michigan and Lake Huron also aided preservation, because it overlaid much of the site and built up very quickly (Maxwell and Binford 1961:21-22). The sandy matrix in the area has resulted in fantastic preservation of even the tiniest organic remains. On the other hand, casual looting by tourists and beautification projects throughout the park's history have been detrimental to stratigraphic preservation (Maxwell and Binford 1961:21-22).

Excavations have revealed six distinct layers that are present throughout most of the site. The lowest layer is the Algoma beach sand and rocks, which is mostly sterile with a few small Pre-Columbian Woodland artifacts. Above this is grey sand from the French clearing and occupation, which was partially removed and disturbed by later British building projects. Above these layers lay the greyish-brown sandy loam of the British occupation and the thick demolition period layer, which consists of brown sandy loam. The top layers of the site are the black, manure-rich sandy loam laid down by the parks department in the 1930s and finally, the modern topsoil. Artifacts from the 1930s park layer often were mixed into the 1781 demolition layer below (Evans 2001).

House C was first excavated in 1983. The excavation was conducted in 10’ × 10’ units initially divided into 2.5’ × 2.5’ subunits, but in the same year excavation switched to 5’ × 5’ quadrants (Halchin 1985). Layers were excavated in earlier years by cultural strata, but in later years layers were excavated in one decafoot (0.1 of a foot, a measurement holdover from the original excavations) intervals (Halchin 1985). Features were excavated as separate matrices from the surrounding layers. All excavations were done by trowel, and all deposits were screened through ¼ inch and 1/16-inch mesh. Flotation samples were only collected during the 1983 field season (Halchin 1985).

Fig. 3, Archaeology Master Map of Fort Michilimackinac
House C marked in yellow, House D marked in orange, House 7 marked in green
Courtesy of Mackinac State Historic Parks

The site report for House C covers excavations from 1983-1985, although excavations of the gardens at House C had not finished by 1985 (Halchin 1985), meaning that the analysis in the report published at the end of the 1985 season is incomplete. Because of the extant documentary records and the previous division of distinct stratigraphic layers into occupation periods, the

analysis of the House C excavations was divided into the French period, or Parant occupation, and British period, or Solomon-Levy occupation (Halchin 1985). Halchin cites previous excavations at Michilimackinac by Heldman and Grange (1981) for her association of French period deposits with a grey sand matrix and British period deposits with a brown humic sand matrix. In between these deposits inside House C is a thin layer of yellow-gold sand that previous excavators have suggested was used as fill during either a rebuilding episode of the house or during the installation of the wooden floor (Maxwell and Binford 1961: Halchin 1985). Halchin (1985) finds it likely that the wooden floor of House C, the remains of which were excavated in Features 772/758, was installed shortly after Solomon and Levy's occupation of the house. This addition is in keeping with British improvements to other buildings in the fort at the same time (Maxwell and Binford 1961), and with Solomon and Levy's increased wealth.

A burnt destruction layer overlies most of the occupation deposits of House C. Earlier interpretations of the destruction layer place it at the same time as the fort's abandonment in 1781 (Maxwell and Binford 1961). Feature 754, a puddling pit that was dug on top of the House C destruction layer to collect clay, suggests that the house was destroyed while residents of the fort and surrounding area were still collecting materials for house maintenance (Halchin 1985). This puts the house's destruction slightly before the destruction of the entire fort, and any artifacts found above the destruction layer are most likely not related to the House C occupation.

Bone button blanks and locally-made lead shot were found inside the house (Halchin 1985). Halchin (1985) suggests that Odawa women may have been employed in craft manufacture inside House C, which is supported by the documentary evidence that Solomon owned at least one Native slave while at Fort Michilimackinac. Besides this brief mention, there is no other discussion of possible occupants/workers inside of House C other than Solomon and

Levy. I would like to prompt further discussion of the influence other people may have had on the remains in House C.

In her 1991 Ph.D. dissertation, Elizabeth Scott analyzes the faunal and floral remains from House C and discusses other materials related to subsistence, such as ceramics. Her analysis primarily focuses on the quantification of faunal remains using biomass and what this can say about ethnicity (1991a). All ceramic remains from House C were statistically analyzed by Lynn Koplin for her master's thesis (1997). She concluded that the ceramics found in the Solomon-Levy British occupation layer were significantly different from those used by the Parants, which is in line with the interpretation of Solomon and Levy as both wealthier than and culturally different from the Parants (1997).

My study focuses on the archaeological remains and occupants of House C, but I use two other excavated houses at Ft. Michilimackinac for comparative purposes. These are House D of the Southeast rowhouse and House 7 of the South Southwest rowhouse (see Fig 2). I chose House D for comparison because, despite being the residence of two British officers, it is fully published, was excavated using the same techniques as House C, and is known to have had a Métis woman in residence during the British period, probably year-round. House 7 was chosen because it will be fully published shortly and is known to have housed fur traders during the British period, although they were French (Evans 2014). Similarities between House C and House 7 should indicate Solomon and Levy's presence as British-influenced traders; similarities between House C and House D (when accounting for the preponderance of British military artifacts in House D) could indicate the cultural influence of Métis, or possibly French-Canadian or Indigenous, resident(s).

Both House D and 7 were excavated after House C and used the same fine-grained excavation techniques that have been used from the end of the House C excavations to the present. Both houses were excavated using 5' × 5' units for horizontal control and decafoot levels for vertical control, and window mesh (1/16") mesh for fine-grained recovery.

A close review of the evidence from House C revealed the avenues of inquiry that I have chosen to follow for this thesis. From evidence found in Scott's (1991a) and Halchin's (1985) previous analyses of House C and historical documents, I feel that the archaeological evidence may support a year-round occupation of House C in the British period. This could have implications for the existence of residents at House C who were not recorded by the documents but could have been recorded in the archaeology. Could people other than Solomon and Levy have lived or worked in the house, as at other Michilimackinac houses? If so, who were these people, and is it possible to use archaeology to rectify the silences regarding them in the documentary record?

METHODS

There are four parts to my analysis: first, I use a modified version of the activity-differentiation framework, pioneered by Conkey and Spector (1984) to analyze the personal and adornment artifacts recovered from Houses C, D, and 7. In her thesis, Scott proposed that further feminist-materialist analysis of the adornment-related artifacts from Michilimackinac should be undertaken, using primary documents to determine which objects were used by certain gender, ethnic, and class identities (Scott 1991a:205). Typically, religious or Indigenous-related artifacts found at fur traders' residences at Michilimackinac are considered to have been stored trade goods. No trade-related artifacts found in House C have been considered as personal goods lost by Indigenous, Métis, or French-Canadian people living or working within the house. While it

cannot be *proved* whether these artifacts were stored trade goods or lost personal items, certain methods can provide more information about the possible use-life of these artifacts. I utilize a variation on the activity-differentiation framework, which uses primary accounts to determine what ethnicities, genders, or classes would have used certain artifacts (Conkey and Spector 1984). Therefore, we can consider how these objects were deposited at House C without relying solely on historical documents for explanation.

Secondly, I chose to analyze the ceramics using an object biography approach, rather than the statistical methods that have been previously been used at Michilimackinac. Although analyzing the quantity and quality of ceramics is an established method of determining the ethnicity and class of the residents of an historical household, this methodology often focuses on the socio-economic status of the homeowner or the person who had purchasing power, rather than the number or ethnicity of the residents (Scott 1991a, Koplin 1997, Evans 2001). Therefore, I have chosen to approach ceramics using an object biography approach, which accounts for the use of ceramics, rather than just their purchase. Although I have analyzed the ceramics of House C under the assumption that they were used by the residents, there is no written evidence that Solomon and Levy traded ceramic goods, and some of the ceramics found at House C could have very well been trade goods.

Next, I revisit a methodology that Scott (1991a) used to determine the percentage of kosher versus non-kosher remains at House C. The test employed by Scott was designed to study the faunal remains of European households and did not account for the variety of wild and domesticated flora and fauna encountered in Michilimackinac's frontier environment. Many of the non-Kosher animals consumed at Michilimackinac were unique to the Americas, and any test used to analyze the 'kosherness' of a given household must account for this. In both cases, I

compare the type, variety, and amount of the House C remains with those from House D. Some brief comparative work between the faunal remains from Houses C and D has already been completed by Elizabeth Scott in the report on House D (2001), which I summarize.

Lastly, I couple the faunal and botanical remains identified in Scott's (1991a) PhD dissertation with ecological or ethnographic data on hunting, farming, and gathering practices to determine the normal seasonal distribution of the floral and faunal remains found in the Solomon-Levy occupation levels of House C. If some or many of these fauna and flora were regularly hunted or collected during the fall, winter, or spring, then there may have been residents at House C who acquired food when Solomon and Levy were not living at the fort. Scott also determined the age of death for the domesticated animals found at House C, which can be used in conjunction with information on birthing seasons to determine when these animals were killed and butchered.

I recognize that determining ethnicity, gender, and number of occupants with archaeological remains are all difficult and often controversial pursuits. Scott has already attempted to get at both gender (1985) and ethnicity (1991a) using the faunal remains at House C, with her analysis of ethnicity – in both her and my opinion - being the most successful. To my knowledge, no one has of yet used the archaeological remains from Michilimackinac to determine the number of occupants or the duration of their residency, preferring instead to rely on historical documents (the shortcomings of which I have discussed above).

RESULTS AND DISCUSSION

Task Differentiation: Trade and Non-trade Personal Goods

The task-differentiation framework, an ethnohistorical approach to gender in archaeology and anthropology, was defined by Conkey and Spector (1984:25) as a tool to study gendered

activities or "tasks" in a way that is sensitive to the variability of gender across cultures. The goal is to achieve a more emic (insider) understanding of gendered artifact associations, rather than uncritically applying gender stereotypes from the contemporary world. In Conkey and Spector's (1984:26) framework, the social, temporal, spatial, and material dimensions of any task must be considered as a whole, although archaeologists utilizing the framework – by nature of the available information - tend to place more focus on the spatial and material dimensions. Archaeologists utilizing the framework apply information from primary documents regarding the gender divisions of daily tasks to archaeological readings of artifacts and artifact patterns, and I follow suit.

Archaeologists after Conkey and Spector (e.g., Jordan 2014) have employed the task-differentiation framework to successfully question assumed gender divisions in archaeological interpretation. While Scott (1991b) utilized the task-differentiation framework for gender-oriented research into archaeological interpretation at Michilimackinac she also applied the framework to other social identifiers, such as class and ethnicity (Scott 1991a). By utilizing primary documents such as cookbooks and trade lists to associate ceramics, tools, and cuts of meat with certain ethnicities and classes, Scott successfully applied the task-differentiation framework to differentiate low, middle, or high-class residents and French-Canadian, British, or Métis residents at Michilimackinac (1991a).

This subsection follows from Scott's (1991a:205) call for further research on personal or clothing-related artifacts, employing a similar variation on task-differentiation which incorporates ethnicity, religion, and occupation (often indicative of class). As Scott demonstrated in her study of clothing remains at Michilimackinac (2008), getting at any meaningful ethnic or gender analysis through clothing is difficult due to lack of preservation, but the abundant

personal use/adornment artifacts found in all excavations at Michilimackinac provide a productive avenue for inquiry.

Previous discussions of the personal use/adornment artifacts found at Michilimackinac relied on the authors' etic interpretation of the use of and meaning attributed to these artifacts, rather than the emic uses and attitudes that existed in 18th century Michilimackinac (Maxwell and Binford 1961, Halchin 1985). Especially when the area or house excavated was known to have belonged to a trader, previous archaeologists assigned nearly all personal artifacts found to 'trade' categories, assuming that their presence in a trader's residence renders them commodities rather than used objects. This is especially true of the Indigenous-made and Indigenous-used objects found in traders' residences: at House C, objects such as rosary beads, Jesuit rings, and tinkling cones were all denoted as trade goods in Halchin's (1985) report, the tacit assumption being that the only residents were European Jewish men who had no use for these objects besides trade.

To achieve an emic understanding of trade and personal goods, I reviewed multiple rosters from British and French traders at Michilimackinac that are housed in the Mackinac State Historic Parks library (Appendix A). Although trade was not strictly divided by ethnicity or gender at Michilimackinac, nearly all the trading rosters that survive are written by European men at the fort. Therefore, I conclude that personal use/adornment artifacts that are excavated at Michilimackinac and are found in these records likely point to the commercial activities of European men like Solomon and Levy. I similarly make a case that personal use/adornment objects absent from these trade lists, especially those of Indigenous manufacture, point towards the activities of individuals of other ethnic and gender groups. Of course, this analysis is not exhaustive, and a re-analysis using other historical documents may provide different results.

Nevertheless, this method will contribute to my overall goal of rethinking the silences present in Fort Michilimackinac's interpretation.

In my analysis, I include all artifacts (apart from seed beads, which are found in huge quantities at Michilimackinac and would skew numbers) which were created for personal use or adornment – for example, Jesuit rings, metallic trim, or tinkling cones. Table 1 lists all personal use/adornment items found in the afore-mentioned trade lists. As one can see, the variety of personal goods bought and sold by European traders is extensive. Tables 2 and 3 detail which artifacts excavated from the British occupation layers of Houses C, D, and 7 are found in Table 1, and which are not.

As can be seen from Table 3, the number and variety of personal use/adornment goods excavated from British houses is significantly more limited than the variety found in trade lists. This can be partially attributed to the sparse survival of cloth goods; even when perishable trade goods (such as clothing and blankets) had components that are usually preserved at Michilimackinac (such as hooks and eyes or buttons), the original good cannot be distinguished. Additionally, the houses were cleared and dismantled prior to destruction; most large or valuable trade goods would have been moved to Mackinac Island with the fort.

Both the greatest number and variety of goods came from House 7 – unsurprisingly, the house of a trader, which accounts for the great variety of trade goods. It was also the house most recently excavated at Michilimackinac, and more refined excavation techniques (Evans 2014) likely contributed to the greater number of goods collected. The low number and lack of variety in trade goods at House D was likewise unsurprising, as it was the only house in my sample not occupied by traders.

TABLE 1: DOCUMENTARY PERSONAL USE/ADORNMENT OBJECTS FOUND IN TRADE LISTS PRESENTED IN APPENDIX A

- beads
  - blue beeds [sic]
  - mock garnetts [beads]
  - long blk beads
  - small white beads
  - long white beads
  - [bunch] small round do [beads]
  - small yellow beeds [sic]
  - White wampum
  - Wampum
  - red bruised beads
- Blue Romals [braided hide]
- Bottles of Essence peperment [sic]
- box combs
  - horn Combs
  - Bone Combs
- Boxes or/Relliquaries [sic]
  - steel tobacco boxes
- Brass ring Dial
- broaches [sic]
  - Silver Broaches [sic]
  - large Scolopt Broaches [sic]
  - small do do [Scolopt Broaches]
- broad tincel'd laced
  - Rich broad gold laced
  - broad Tinsel Lace all yellow
- Broad Council Bells
  - narrow Beed [sic] Bells
- Buttons
  - Glom Buttons for Jillets [jacket] etc.
  - Vest buttons 1/6
  - Dos [vest] Inlaid do [buttons]
  - Gold coat button
  - Large horn Buttons
  - solid enlaid [sic] coat buttons
- Coats
  - Boys Ditto Ditto
  - Spotted Jacketts [sic]
  - Double Rateen Jacketts [sic]
  - Men's bound Duffil great [sic]
- Dutch looking Glasses
  - small Dutch glasses
  - looking glasses in gilt
- Earrings
  - stone earrings
  - Pr. Ear bobs
  - silvre [sic] ear bobs
  - Ear Wheels
- false Silveer [sic] works
- fiddle strings
- Gimps [silk w/ wire]
- hats
  - boys hats
  - Men's plain Hats
  - Castor hats
  - Capots de Molton
  - Worsted Caps
- Jewes [sic] harps
- large arm bands
  - smaller do [arm bands]
  - large strong silver arm bands with The King's Arms engraved on them…
  - silver wrist bands such as were sent in the year 1779
  - largest silver Arm Band
  - pair silver wrist bands
- large silver medals
  - smaller Do [silver medals]
- Metal Crosses
  - small Crosses 8d
  - large Crosses
  - middling do [crosses]
  - large silver crosses
- mittasses [leggings]
  - Leather Breeches
- playing cards
- pair of Shoes
  - pair of womans Shoes
  - pair of Indian Shoes
  - pair of shoe buckles
  - pr of Mogizins [sic]
  - pair mans [sic] fine Shoes
  - pair mens strong shoes
- paper cases
- pair of Cotton Trowsers [sic]
- pinchback buckles
  - Common do [buckles
- [pipes] short Indians

platillas Royal [plaits]
rings
- stone rings
- Ring Silver Basses
- white metal rings
- plain Bath do [rings]
- Plain yellow rings
- plain yellow bath Rings
- Brass rings

Shirt
- Men's 3/4 Irish shirts
- Ditto 7/8 Ditto
- Ditto 8/8 Ditto Ruffled
- small white shirts
- Cotton shirts
- Check Ditto [shirts]
- Indian Shirts
- pr sleeves
- Boys shirt

silver hairplate the Best S.
Suits clothes
Tinsel, 18 Yds each very gaudy
- Tinsell do [ribbons]

TABLE 2: PERSONAL ADORNMENT ARTIFACTS FOUND IN TABLE 1, BRITISH CONTEXTS

Trade Goods	**House C**	**House D**	**House 7**
Buttons (non-bone)	5	Not Present	19
Jewelry/jewelry fragments	6	4	18
Buckles/fragments (shoes, hats)	1	Not Present	10
Rings/fragments (Jesuit/brass)	1 (brass)	3	5
Brooches/fragments	1	Not Present	Not Present
Clothing fragments (hooks and eyes, metallic trim)	1 (hook & eye)	3	75 (hook & eye, trim, and sequins)
Native stone pipes/fragments	3	4	3

Sources: Excavation Reports from Colonial Michilimackinac, 1983-2007 Seasons [unpublished]. Housed at Mackinac State Historic Parks.

TABLE 3: PERSONAL ADORNMENT ARTIFACTS NOT FOUND IN TABLE 1, BRITISH CONTEXTS

Non-Trade Goods	**House C**	**House D**	**House 7**
Rosary Beads/fragments	11	Not Present	19
Tinkling Cones	15	5	18
Metal/Stone Beads	1 (metal)	1 (metal)	1 (lithic)
Buttons (bone)	Not Present	1	3

Sources: Excavation Reports from Colonial Michilimackinac, 1983-2007 Seasons [unpublished]. Housed at Mackinac State Historic Parks.

At House C, the number and variety of trade goods is smaller than House 7, but otherwise seems consistent with an assemblage that would be found at a trader's house. The non-trade goods at House C are also consistent with those found at Houses D and 7, but the presence of rosaries in a 'Jewish' household has confounded previous archaeologists. Previously, this has been explained by their categorization as trade goods, but rosaries are not found as a trade good in any of the surveyed documents. They would have been used, however, by French-Canadians, Métis, and some Indigenous individuals living at the fort, many of whom were devout Catholics.

The benefit of utilizing primary documents to examine personal use/adornment artifacts is a reevaluation of categories that have been taken for granted by past archaeologists. For example, Halchin's (1985) thesis assigned tinkling cones to the trade category, even though they do not appear on any of the trade lists compiled by or for traders at Michilimackinac. From documentary evidence, we know that tinkling cones were often formed from kettles and other European metal goods by Indigenous people (Nassaney 2015:105). Knowing this, we can posit that the presence of tinkling cones could indicate the presence of Indigenous people, their crafts, or their actions.

The presence of rosary beads at House C, especially when considering their absence at House D – known to be occupied by a Catholic woman - is intriguing. In previous analyses of House C, these rosary parts were lumped in with trade goods, the assumption being that Solomon and Levy had imported rosaries to trade with the largely Catholic Odawa and Métis populations of the area (Halchin 1985). However, no trade lists from Michilimackinac name rosary beads as a trade good. These rosaries may have been acquired through alternate means: perhaps through the Jesuit priests who traveled through Michilimackinac or ministered at the nearby village of L'Arbe Croche. The implication of this is that a practicing Catholic individual lived or spent time at House C. At House 7, where rosary parts were also found, we know that the residents were French traders, and that the French at Michilimackinac were nearly all Catholic (Magra 1766). While we know that Ezekiel Solomon married and had children with a practicing Catholic woman in Montreal, there is no evidence that she or his children ever accompanied him to Michilimackinac. Additionally, he married her very shortly before Fort Michilimackinac was abandoned and all the residents moved to Mackinac Island. However, there is evidence that Solomon owned a *panis* (Indigenous) slave, and some Indigenous people and most Métis people

had converted or been born into the Catholic faith. The presence of an Indigenous or Métis slave may be a valid and productive explanation for the presence of Catholic paraphernalia in a Jewish household.

Both assumptions addressed above are examples of the creation of *history* in Trouillot's sense; the formation of a narrative where academics and interpreters pick and choose what pieces of the archives they will include, and which they will silence. Although primary sources had been curated and archived, previous archaeologists created narratives that fit into the over-arching history of Michilimackinac with which they were already comfortable; a history that diminished the presence and contributions of Indigenous people.

I acknowledge that the categories of trade good and personal adornment/use that I have determined above are not static; many of the trade goods could have instead been the personal property of an Indigenous or Métis person living at House C, while the non-trade goods could have been sold or traded to Solomon and Levy by other Indigenous or European residents. Other approaches to activity-differentiation, or other theoretical tactics such as artifact biographies could achieve multiple, nuanced understandings of the artifact patterns and associations at Michilimackinac.

Ceramics

Case studies from across post-Columbian North America (Silliman 2010) have utilized ceramics to examine ethnicity and gender, although a similar approach poses problems at Michilimackinac. Studies that equate ceramics and ethnicity or gender tend to focus on those who manufactured the vessel, such as in the case study of Indigenous women who manufactured low-fired ceramics in Colonial *La Florida* (Vernon and Cordell 1993). However, like contemporary trader's houses excavated at Fort Michilimackinac and other 18th century colonial

fort sites (Evans 2001, Starbuck 2010), the ceramic remains from British House C are entirely European imports, in the form of stoneware, porcelain, delft, and other types commonly found at 18th century sites.

The ceramic assemblage of House C has been analyzed in multiple ways by Scott (1991a) and Koplin (1997). Scott utilized an activity-differentiation framework to determine class affiliation and found that the increased number and variety of vessel types over time at House C indicated an increase in household wealth (1991a). Koplin used Miller and Stone's (1970) ceramic descriptions and statistical analysis to determine that there was a significant difference in the ceramic assemblages from the French and British period occupations of House C (1997). These analyses created a picture of Solomon and Levy's wealth and taste in dinnerware, but ceramics at House C have never been examined as indicators of ethnicity or gender.

Vernon and Cordell's (1993) study of Colonoware ceramics at the mission of San Luis de Talimali is one of many that uses ceramics as indicators of minority ethnic and gender presence. Colonoware (a type of low-fired ceramics that combine Indigenous, African, and European motifs) has been used as an indicator of Indigenous women's presence at multiple colonial sites. Colonoware is also seen as asserting cultural distinction or continuity by Indigenous women who intermarried or resided at colonial sites (Vernon and Cordell 1993). Similarly, the presence of European or European-imported Chinese ceramics – especially expensive ones – has been taken as an indicator of distinctly European presence and the European-American's desire to reify their taste, wealth, or 'Europeanness' (Silliman 2010).

Silliman (2010:40) notes that this one-to-one comparison of ceramics and ethnicity privileges "origins as… inherent cultural meaning" and silences both the labor relations that existed within colonial households and the use inherent in the life of a ceramic. Although

archaeologists focus on the purchase of ceramics, every piece found in the archaeological record must have also been used, washed, or handled – and eventually – broken, lost, or discarded. Unfortunately, this part of a ceramic vessel's life cycle is much harder to quantify than its make and manufacture.

Object biographies are one way that archaeologists have attempted to understand the full 'life cycle' of an artifact (Joy 2009). Although object biographies are most often applied to objects of predominantly ritual significance, the model has successfully been used with objects of a practical nature (Meskell 2004) The important work of object biographies is that they are relational, in that they are defined by the discursive relationship between an object and its user(s). An object biography is divided into the 'birth, life, and death' or the manufacture, use-life, and discard of the object (Joy 2009). For ceramics found at House C, the 'birth' and 'death' are usually easy to determine: the ceramics were 'birthed' by laborers in mass-production facilities in England, France, The Netherlands, or China; their 'death' was caused by the ceramic user breaking and then discarding the resulting sherds. It is the 'life' section of the biography that must be fleshed out.

Fig. 4, MS2.11127.67, Chinese Import Hand-Painted Porcelain, recovered from House C Cellar
(Courtesy of Mackinac State Historic Parks)

As a test case, I have chosen a sherd of blue and white Chinese export porcelain (Fig. 4, MS2.11174.67) which is currently on display in House C. The labor relations in the sherd's biography begin at its birth, with the worker or workers who shaped, fired, painted, and glazed this ceramic in a production center in China, likely in a workshop where items were produced according to European tastes, for export to Europe. The sherd's 'death' also involved labor; the cleaning, use, and movement of ceramics are all opportunities for breakage. Additionally, the broken pieces of a ceramic must be discarded, whether that is sweeping the pieces under the floorboards or picking them up and discarding them elsewhere.

The sherd's 'life' is where we as archaeologists lose the thread of these labor entanglements. Historical documents and the artifact pattern at House C can help us make educated guesses, but the possible labor entanglements inherent in any one ceramic sherd are innumerable. Documents from Fort Michilimackinac indicate that drinking tea, coffee, chocolate, or punch were popular social pastimes of the fort's residents, especially of the upper class (Morison 2001). Chinese tea sets – many sherds of which are found at Michilimackinac - were used in these popular pastimes. However, to understand the labor relations entwined with this sherd's life, we must read between the lines of the documents written by middle- and upper-class European men. For Solomon, Levy, and guests to use Chinese porcelain tea sets in social drinking, someone had to prepare and serve the drinks, clean the vessels, and return everything to storage. While the labor relations here are complicated by the fact that Solomon, Levy, or elite women may have served drinks during formal tea ceremonies, slaves or servants could have performed many other menial tasks associated with serving drinks for Michilimackinac's elite residents. The labor that Indigenous slaves or servants regularly performed at Michilimackinac is not well recorded, but using analogues of Indigenous and African slaves and servants at other 18th century sites (Silliman 2010), we can surmise that they likely performed any or all menial and undesirable labor assigned to them, including the routine care and cleaning of ceramic vessels as well as the preparation of food and drink. This relationship between used object (porcelain tea set) and laborer (Indigenous slave) is educated speculation, but the goal – to expand the relational lifetime of archaeological ceramics beyond their creator and buyer – still stands. The lack of 'Indigenous' ceramics (and by extension, the presence of European-produced or European-purchased ceramics) is not a one-to-one indicator of Indigenous presence or absence.

It should be noted that a very few Indigenous ceramics (all of which are likely intrusive pre-Columbian items) have been found in excavations at houses around Michilimackinac, including House C. However, all Indigenous-produced sherds in House C and nearly all Indigenous sherds within other houses are in clearly disturbed contexts and have been previously identified as pre-colonial Archaic to Late Woodland ceramics. Examples of Indigenous ceramics found in a possibly undisturbed British context are two sherds at House 7 and one at House D, one of which is identified as pre-Columbian. While this could point to potential Indigenous occupation at Houses D or 7, one sherd per house in uncertain contexts does not create a convincing pattern. Additionally, the long history of Indigenous-European trade in the region should be considered: Europeans, first Jesuits and then traders, had been trading with local nations for over one hundred years by the time of British occupation, and brass or copper kettles were known to be a popular trade good elsewhere in the Great Lakes region. As critiques of acculturation frameworks at post-Columbian Indigenous sites have noted (Silliman 2005), the absence of Indigenous-produced artifacts does not represent the absence of Indigenous culture or "Europeanization," but rather the adoption of new technology like metal cooking vessels and new lifeways.

One additional opportunity to elucidate the labor relations inherent in ceramic vessels is to focus on activities that cause their archaeological presence: use, breakage, and discard. If Solomon and Levy occupied House C for only one quarter of the year, it would stand to reason that they used, broke, and discarded ceramic vessels only one quarter as often as those who occupied Michilimackinac year-round, such as the soldiers at House D. In her analysis, Scott (1991a:133) calculates a MNV (Minimum Number of Vessels) of 24 for House C while the second highest MNV is 13 for the second occupation of House F – a significant difference. There

is evidence that Solomon was one of the wealthier residents of Michilimackinac, which may account for a slightly larger number of ceramics, but the greater number of consumption vessels at House C than at any of Scott's (1991a:91) comparative houses contradicts the documentary evidence that Solomon resided at Michilimackinac seasonally after 1769, when he was married in Montreal. If the ceramic MNV counts that Scott reports for House C are truly comparable to the other houses excavated at Michilimackinac, they imply a greater number of vessels and more frequent handling at House C than at other houses, which could be related to trade activities or have implications for the presence of other residents besides Solomon and Levy. However, the comparisons need to be revisited, and further research calculating and comparing the MNV from Houses D, 7, and the to-be-finished House E would be a productive avenue to understand how many people utilized ceramics at House C, and how often.

Kosher and Non-Kosher Remains

Scott (1991a) noted the unusual preponderance of pig remains in the Solomon-Levy occupation of House C. She interpreted the non-kosher remains as a necessity that Solomon and/or Levy relied on until they were wealthy enough to drastically reduce or end their consumption of non-kosher animals, sometime in the 1770s (Scott 1991a). Scott does not discuss the relative percentage of pig remains found at House C compared to other, French Catholic or British Protestant-owned houses analyzed at the fort. Part of this may be the lack of adequate comparative collections from British-period Michilimackinac homes at the time of her dissertation.

Based on Gerard F. Ijzereef's 1989 study of Jewish households in Amsterdam, Scott (1991a) interprets the House C residents as eating less non-Kosher pork than their neighbors. However, Ijzereef's framework for determining Jewishness through pig remains was created to

compare household remains from a 17th century European city; it does not account for undomesticated or specifically North American species. I have attempted a more holistic approach to determining the "kosherness" of British House C: I identified all remains found at Houses C and D that are categorized as *treyf*, or non-kosher, by Jewish law (accounting for trade-related or non-food remains, such as shell or cat bones), then performed tests to determine if the different percentages of *treyf* remains at Houses C and D are statistically significant (see Appendix B). For these tests, I used the bone fragment numbers, fragment weights, and calculated biomass (Kg) given in Scott's (1991a) thesis.

Since there are noticeable differences in the remains found at Houses C and D even when one briefly looks at the faunal remain tables (Scott 1991a, Evans 2001), it was not surprising that the difference in *treyf* remains was statistically significant. What *was* surprising is that there were *significantly more treyf* remains found at House C in all tests. The residents of British-period House C were butchering or eating more non-Kosher food than their Métis and British neighbors. While writings on colonial American Jewry point out that many rural Jewish traders did not keep kosher (Marcus 1970), the preponderance of *treyf* remains at House C suggests that those butchering and cooking at House C had no religio-cultural qualms about consuming *treyf* animals. As Scott (2001) pointed out in her appendix to Evans' report on House D, the remains from House C are more in-line with a French-Canadian, Métis, or Indigenous person's diet than a British diet.

The House D British period faunal assemblages, also analyzed by Scott, are remarkably similar to the House C assemblage. House D is known to have been occupied by British officers, according to documents and the military-related artifacts found during excavation. At least one of these soldiers was married to a Métis woman, who likely lived with him. Scott proposes that

this affected the faunal assemblage, which "looks more like that of French traders than it does… the King's Eighth officers" (Scott 2001).

This data would benefit from a comparative sample from a house known to be occupied by a fur trader. From Scott's study of the change over time in British period House C's faunal remains, she concluded that the residents were attempting to emulate the diet of other wealthy traders (1991a). If the House C assemblage resembles a British trader's house assemblage more closely than the House D assemblage, it could support Scott's assertion that Solomon and Levy were trying to assimilate through food. Faunal data from House 7, known to be occupied by two different French-Canadian fur trading families in the British period, is currently being analyzed by Kristen Walczesky for her PhD dissertation at University of Florida (n.d.). Comparison of the House C and House 7 assemblages could provide a more nuanced interpretation and should be a high priority for future research.

Seasonality

Tables 4 and 5 detail my findings on the seasons in which faunal and floral remains at Houses C and D would have been present, hunted, or gathered in the region around the Straits of Mackinac. Data has been obtained from a mix of ecological and historical texts. Certain faunal and floral remains originally identified in Scott's (1991a, 2001) analyses at both houses were removed from consideration because they were not identified to a sufficiently narrow taxonomy or because historical dietary evidence suggests that they were not food remains. Any remains that were not identified to at least the family level (for example, 'unidentified large mammal' or 'various woods') were removed from consideration. Additionally, the remains of domestic cats, rats and mice, and raptor species have been removed because historical evidence would suggest that these are the remains of pets or pests, rather than food remains.

Analyzing the faunal and floral remains found at House C and comparing with those at House D has produced results that overwhelmingly support summer occupation of House C but are inconclusive concerning occupation at other times of the year. I employed primary sources from 18th century Michigan and ecological texts to put together a timeline of peak hunting/harvesting/presence seasons for the faunal remains found at Houses C and D. These sources include contemporary observations of hunting, fishing, and gathering practices around the Great Lakes penned by European travel writers such as Alexander Henry (1966) and Peter Kalm (2003).

Alexander Henry's *Travels and Adventures in Canada,* where he recounts his experience at Michilimackinac from 1763 onward, was especially useful; his account of hunting and fishing practices at Michilimackinac and the surrounding forts is contemporaneous with the British occupations of Houses C and D. Henry's account of trout and whitefish harvesting in and around Michilimackinac indicated that these fish were harvested primarily in the winter by Native residents, but they were available year-round (Henry 1966). He also mentions the average time of the migration of ducks and geese, and the trapping or tracking methods used by his adopted Ojibwe family for bear, deer, raccoon, and beaver (Henry 1966). Other data was collected from field books and government or university data on the migration and spawning patterns of fish and fowl local to the Great Lakes.

TABLE 4: HOUSE C FAUNAL REMAINS: SEASONAL PRESENCE AND/OR USUAL HUNTING, SLAUGHTER, OR HARVEST TIMING

Key: Not present/hunted ☐ Present/hunted ■ Possibly present/hunted ▭

Mammals	NISP	Jan	Feb	Mar	Apr	May	June	July	Aug	Sept	Oct	Nov	Dec
Cow	29									■	■	■	
Pig	43	■	▭	▭	▭	▭	▭	▭	▭	▭	▭	■	■
Sheep	11				■	■							
Sheep/goat	19				■	■							
White-Tail Deer	7			■	■	■				■	■	■	■

Mustelidae [weasel]	1												
Black Bear	1												
Caribou	1												
Wolf/dog/coyote	2												
Red Fox	1												
Red/Grey Fox	2												
Beaver	43												
Red squirrel	1												
Flying Squirrel	1												
Snowshoe Hare	37												
Leporidae [rabbit/hare]	64												

Birds	NISP	Jan	Feb	Mar	Apr	May	June	July	Aug	Sept	Oct	Nov	Dec
Chicken	24												
swan sp.	2												
Canada Goose	13												
Mallard/black duck	1												
duck sp.	1												
Anserinae [geese/ducks]	1												
green winged-teal	1												
green/blue winged-teal	1												
common merganser	1												
cf. common merganser	1												
red-breasted merganser	2												
common/red breasted merganser	3												
Hooded Merganser													
Anatinae [duck]	79												
Anatidae [waterbird]	13												
Mergini [seaducks]	1												
Spruce Grouse	1												
ruffed grouse	9												
Spruce/Ruffed Grouse	1												
Phasianidae [gamebirds]	1												

Tringa sp	1												
gull sp.	2												
Laridae [seabirds]	1												
cf. common tern	1												
Scolopacoidea [shorebirds]	1												
Passenger pigeon	716												
Emberizidae [buntings]	1												

Fish	NISP	Jan	Feb	Mar	Apr	May	June	July	Aug	Sept	Oct	Nov	Dec
Lake Sturgeon	54												
Longnose Gar	1												
cf. Longnose Gar	2												
Lake Trout	213												
Lake Whitefish/Cisco/ Bloater	410												
Round Whitefish	5												
cf. round whitefish	1												
Coregoninae [whitefish]	11												
Salmonidae [whitefish]	1524												
Pike/ muskellunge	1												
Burbot	3												
Longnose Sucker	1												
Largemouth Bass	1												
Walleye	21												
Freshwater Drum	1												

Plants		Jan	Feb	Mar	Apr	May	June	July	Aug	Sept	Oct	Nov	Dec
Elderberries													
Pincherries													
Sumac													
Hazelnut													
Blueberry													
Raspberry/ Black Raspberry/ Blackberry													
Serviceberry													

TABLE 5: HOUSE D FAUNAL REMAINS: SEASONAL PRESENCE AND/OR USUAL HUNTING, SLAUGHTER, OR HARVEST TIME

Mammals	NISP	Jan	Feb	Mar	Apr	May	June	July	Aug	Sept	Oct	Nov	Dec
Cow	1												
Pig	27												
White-Tail Deer	1												
Deer/Elk	1												
Raccoon	3												
Gray/Red Fox	1												
Marten	1												
Beaver	15												
Snowshoe Hare	1												
Rabbits & Hares	1												

Birds	NISP	Jan	Feb	Mar	Apr	May	June	July	Aug	Sept	Oct	Nov	Dec
Canada Goose	1												
Merganser	1												
Ducks	22												
Ducks & Geese	1												
Ruffed Grouse/Prairie Chicken	1												
Passenger Pigeon	380												
Pass. Pigeon/ Mourning Dove	1												
Lapland longspur	1												
Common flicker	1												

Fish	NISP	Jan	Feb	Mar	Apr	May	June	July	Aug	Sept	Oct	Nov	Dec
Lake sturgeon	66												
Lake trout	235												
Lake whitefish	226												
Round whitefish	7												
Lake/round whitefish	46												
Cf whitefishes	2092												
Salmonidae	118												
Suckers	3												

Catfishes	1												
White bass	1												
Rock bass	2												
Sunfish sp.	1												
Sunfishes	1												
Yellow perch	1												
Walleye	11												
Freshwater drum	1												

Plants		Jan	Feb	Mar	Apr	May	June	July	Aug	Sept	Oct	Nov	Dec
Corn													
Beans													
Squash													
Beaked Hazelnut													
Serviceberry													
Common Barberry													
Hawthorn													
Huckleberry													
Mulberry													
Cherry													
Pin Cherry													
Sand Cherry													
Black Cherry													
Blackberry/ Raspberry													
American Mountain Ash													
Round-leaved Dogwood													
Red-osier Dogwood													
Witch Hazel													
Sweet Gale													
Knotweed													
Sumac													
Rose													
Violet													

Sources for Tables 4 and 5: Beard et al 2011, Brandau 1984, Bradley 1762, Burger and Gochfeld 1996:572-599, Brewer et al 1991, Camfield 2004, Carlson 2012, Champlain 1567-1635:350E-351E, Colonial Williamsburg 2019a, 2019b, Cornell Lab of Ornithology 2017a, 2017b, 2017c, Erichsen-Brown 1979, Lynn L.M. and Jim Evans 2019 elec. communication, Grimm 1962, Henry 1966, Hubbs et al 2004, Kalm 2003, Michigan Department of Natural Resources 2019a, 2019b, Monks 1981, Newcomb 1977, Newhouse 1894, Ohio Department of Natural Resources 2019a, 2019b, Reitz and Wing 2008, Rose 1895, Scott 1985, Scott 1991a, Seefelt 2011, Serjeantson 1998:23-33, United States Department of Agriculture *Natural Resources Conservation Service* 2019, University of Michigan 2019a, 2019b, Young 1771.

I have provided seasonality charts for the floral and faunal remains for both House C and House D for comparative purposes. Like nearly all the British soldiers stationed at Michilimackinac, the two soldiers from House D certainly lived at the fort for most, if not all, of the year. The Métis wife, not being enlisted, would have had more autonomy to visit her family or travel for extended periods of time, but still would have contributed significantly to the floral and faunal assemblage at House D. While comparison to House 7 would have been desirable, floral and faunal data for this house is not yet available.

Tables 4 and 5 show that most of the faunal and floral remains found at the houses were hunted or gathered all year round or during a seasonal rotational that includes the summer. The number and variety of floral and faunal remains found at House C are mostly consistent with those found at House D, with some exceptions: a greater variety of bird species were identified at House C, and a greater variety of plant remains were identified at House D. The greater variety of flora identified at House D may be due to more sophisticated flotation techniques, but the identification of faunal remains at Houses C and D were both performed by Scott (1991a, 2001), so the identification techniques used were likely consistent.

There is not much difference in the variety of faunal remains from important fur-bearing animals between the two houses. Fox, coyote, and squirrel were found at House C, while raccoon, fox, and marten were found at House D. Beaver, which was a particularly lucrative animal to trade and was sometimes eaten, makes up a significantly larger percentage of the biomass (11.9%) at House C than the percentage (2.8%) at House D, which is consistent with Solomon and Levy's fur-trading activities (Scott 1991a, 2001).

Most mammals taken at both houses were typically taken/butchered in the late fall, winter, or early spring, because many of them were hunted primarily for their pelts. According to

historical records, pelts – with appendicular bones attached – would have most often been purchased from Indigenous traders months after they had been hunted and could have been stored for years (Henry 1966). Therefore, even those valuable fur-bearing animals (such as beaver) that are hunted almost exclusively in winter may not point to a winter occupation. Other present fauna that were primarily hunted in the fall, winter, and spring, such as Canada Geese, trout, and whitefish, were also present in the Straits of Mackinac during the summer months, although in smaller quantities (Henry 1966).

Scott (1991a) determined the age-at-death for the House C cow, pig, and sheep/goat remains, but similar calculations have not been made for domestic mammal remains from House D. The age at death for all the domestic mammal remains from House C varied widely, from 10 months to over 3 years. When combining the seasonality data above with Scott's age-at-death data, it is likely that some of the sheep/goat and pigs were butchered during the winter, but most of the age-at-death data is too broad to determine the specific butchery season. Additionally, the domestic mammal remains are equally complicated because the meat of most domestic animals, especially pork, would have been imported by the military already-dried and eaten year-round.

Bird remains found at both houses are mostly of species that are present year-round at the Straits of Mackinac but most numerous during the summer, such as Canada Geese, or those that are only present and taken during the late spring and summer, such as passenger pigeons. While chicken (which can be butchered at any time and may have been kept for egg-laying rather than meat) made up a small part of the faunal remains at House C, no chicken remains were found at House D. The significantly greater variety of bird remains found at House C includes some species that were not typically consumed (such as Cooper's Hawks and American Kestrel). Because these remains are found in such small quantities – usually one bone fragment per

species – they may be natural inclusions from birds that died around House C, rather than food remains.

The varieties of fish found at both House C and D, which are mostly trout and whitefish, were typically taken in large quantities by the local Odawa, Ojibwe, and traders during the fall, winter, and spring (Henry 1966). While this could have implications for occupation of House C during the fall, winter, and spring, these varieties of fish were often dried, stored and traded all year round (Henry 1966).

All wild plant remains found at both House C and D were harvested between early spring and late summer. The three sisters domesticates of corn, beans, and squash were also identified at House D, even though Indigenous domesticates were often held in disdain by the British, and Solomon and Levy may have adopted similar attitudes towards Native domesticates to reflect the status they aspired to. The presence of these three crops could be consistent with the presence of a Métis woman at House D.

The possibility that many foods, such as corn or fish, would have been preserved and purchased during other seasons must be considered when determining seasonal occupation from this data. We know from historical records that meat from domesticated animals was almost always dried or preserved (Henry 1966, Kalm 2003), although Solomon and Levy would have been among the residents wealthy enough to procure fresh domesticated meat from time to time. One would expect the residents of House D to have eaten more dried foods than the residents of House C, because House D was occupied by military officers. Although officers would have enjoyed a wealthier, more varied diet like Solomon and Levy, they would have also eaten a lot of salt pork and dried peas, which were the customary rations supplied to enlisted soldiers and officers. Unfortunately, dried foods such as these rarely leave traces in the archaeological record,

as they rarely were dried on the bone (in the case of meat) or cooked in ways that left carbonized remains (in the case of fruit and vegetables) (Scott 1991a).

Assessing the remains from Houses C and D for evidence that House C was occupied through the fall, winter, or spring has brought up complications with the general concept of faunal and floral seasonality at Fort Michilimackinac. Chief among them is the high frequency with which residents preserved and stored fauna and flora, whether it be for food or the fur trade. Even when an animal is hunted or a food is collected only in the colder seasons (such as beaver), historical evidence shows that these remains could have been deposited in any season that a resident chose to consume dried foodstuffs or bring pelts out of storage. However, focusing on some key remains from both houses proves interesting. At both houses, domesticated mammals, passenger pigeons, and various whitefish made up most of the individual finds and the percent biomass. These species do not say much about seasonal occupation because they were either commonly dried (whitefish), butchered all year round (domesticates), or hunted in the summer (passenger pigeon), but their preponderance at both houses is in keeping with the diets recorded in contemporary documents (Henry 1966). As Scott (2001) has pointed out, the floral and faunal remains at House C resembles the makeup of remains at houses occupied by French-Canadian and Métis more closely than those occupied by the British upper-class, whom Solomon and Levy were closer to economically and socially. This is worth noting here because such similar diets imply that the residents of House C and House D were acquiring food from the same groups of people, likely around the same time.

One way to determine which animals were hunted for fur rather than food would be to identify the quantity of appendicular bones (particularly metatarsals and carpals) and skulls – remains commonly left attached to pelts – versus the axial bones, but this is outside the scope of

this thesis. Although Scott has already determined age at death for the domestic mammal remains at House C, more fine-grained data could be obtained about the seasonality of faunal remains at House C through age-at-death analysis of wild faunal remains, such as white-tail deer or fish. Of course, any such research would also run into issues with historical food preservation.

CONCLUSION

The results presented in this thesis – obtained through the analysis of personal adornment/use goods, ceramics, non-kosher remains, and seasonality – suggest that someone possibly of Métis or Indigenous descent contributed to the assemblage found at House C, but they are not conclusive. My analysis of the personal adornment artifacts from Houses C, D, and 7 shows that certain adornment artifacts previously assumed to belong to trade categories – such as tinkling cones and rosary beads – may instead have been the personal possessions of Catholic or Indigenous residents. Of course, the complexities of the trade and the nature of the documentary record lend themselves to multiple interpretations, and these personal adornment objects could have lived many lives. Like so-called 'trade goods,' ceramics found at House C can be revisited and the inherent meaning assigned to them by previous archaeologists can be reassessed using object biographies, which show how non-European people can be represented by artifacts that other analysis techniques deem "European". Although seasonal analysis of the faunal and floral remains was complicated by food preservation and fur trade activities, the similarity between the House C and House D assemblages suggest that a Métis, Indigenous, or French-Canadian person was purchasing, hunting, or cooking the foods at House C. Comparison of *treyf* faunal remains found at House C and House D produced the surprising result that there were significantly more *treyf* remains at House C. This finding also supports the conclusion that

someone besides Solomon and Levy was making food-related choices at House C – although this is complicated by the written evidence that many early American Jews eschewed Kosher law.

A more comprehensive set of comparative data would allow future archaeologists to more completely understand House C. An issue with the available evidence is that no other British period house occupied by a fur trader has yet been fully excavated at Michilimackinac with the same 100% recovery methods used at House C. Once the archaeological assemblage from House 7 is fully published, it will provide better comparative data, but there remains no thorough comparative data from a British fur trader's house. Archaeologists at Michilimackinac are currently excavating House E, which is labeled in the Perkins Magra map as the house of a British fur trader (1766). Once excavations at House E have been completed, it would be worthwhile to compare the artifact, faunal, and floral assemblages from Houses C and E.

Since archaeological research is rarely, if ever, conclusive, I did not set out in this thesis to provide a definitive yes or no answer to my original question. Rather, I intended to use the thesis as a starting point for thinking about ways in which archaeologists and historians can rectify the silences of history. Colonial Michilimackinac is a prime candidate for this exercise because of its status as both a place where historical fact and record was created and a place that actively creates and reifies history for its visitors. Creation, assembly, retrieval, and retrospective significance are all enacted on the very same geography here, creating a microcosm of Trouillot's (1995) concept of silences.

Silences are necessary for any museum or historical site to function coherently; interpreting every relevant story at Colonial Michilimackinac would create an unpleasant jumble of information that would not attract many visitors. Nevertheless, silences regarding minorities, especially Indigenous and Métis people, have been rife in the creation of history at

Michilimackinac as they have been in history at large. Academic studies such as this one provide a starting point for mending the silences that erase or cause harm to minorities, but academia has a small scope. Studies of interpretation of Indigenous peoples at other history museums and historic sites (Suk Cooper 2018) have found that quality interpretation can lead visitors to challenge their own misconceptions about Indigenous peoples. Colonial Michilimackinac's interpretive program reaches thousands of people every year, and changes to the program that broaden Fort Michilimackinac's established history would inform visitors about the diverse residents of the original fort and challenge common misconceptions about the nature of the fur trade. The goal of challenging misconceptions is not just to contribute to more rigorous academic research, but to treat marginalized historical peoples with equal weight in the historical record and to right silences that have caused the erasure of these people. Hopefully curators, historians, archaeologists, and interpreters at Colonial Michilimackinac will continue their trajectory of reinterpreting the fort's history to include the positive contributions of Indigenous people and other marginalized peoples.

APPENDIX A

Activity Differentiation List: Personal & Adornment Items*

***Although cloth is a major personal item represented in trade good lists, almost no cloth is represented in the archaeological record at Fort Michilimackinac, save for those pieces of cloth that were preserved by close contact with metal. Therefore, unless the cloth goods listed in the trade records were likely to have metallic elements which would have preserved (e.g. gold trim, shirts with hooks and eyes), they were not included in this activity-differentiation list. All spellings and capitalizations are taken from the original documents, with clarification provided in brackets.

Account of David Mccrae & Co. Dr to Goods for one Canoe for Msr. Landoise

1 Bunch blue beeds [sic]
1 doz playing cards
large Dutch looking Glasses
5 lb vermillion
1 doz steel tobacco boxes
1 doz small Dutch glasses
20 bunches mock garnetts [beads]
2 doz box combs
3 boys hats
2 bunches beads
3 hatts [sic]
1 bunch long blk beads
1 bunche [sic] small white beads
2 gro stone rings
3 doz Tinsell do [ribbon]
1 bunch long white beads
1 do [bunch] small
round do [beads]
1 bunch small yellow beeds
1 ps Blue Romals [braided hide]
1 doz horn Combs
4 Castor hats
1 ps platillas [plaits] Royal
1 doz Andrew Cards

John Askin Inventory

Merchandize

10 small white shirts
6 pair of Shoes
13 pieces of Narrow binding
14 horn Combs
6 Bottles of Essence peperment [sic]
1 Gro: of Jewes [sic] harps
1 1/2 of Vermillion
1 pair of womans Shoes
8 pair of Leather Breeches
2 Capots de Molton [caps]
false Silveer [sic] works
a small White Shirt
6 pair of Indian Shoes
18 Spotted Jacketts [sic]
3 Double Rateen Jacketts
9 pair of Cotton Trowsers [sic]
39 Cotton shirts
3 Check Ditto [shirts]
4 Doz: of Worsted Caps
4 pair of shoe buckles

John Askin Inventory 12/31/1778

Merchandize

5 Indian Shirts
1 pr of Mogizins [sic]

Acct of Sundries Delivered by Mess Ezekiel Solomon & Co 03/23/1763

1 pr Legans [sic]
1 pr sleeves
1 Boys shirt

Macomb, Edgar and Macomb Ledgers 1769-1784 Transcriptions MSS F.4 Mac

1 doz [horn] Combs
1 pair mans fine Shoes
36 pair mens strong shoes
Buttons
1 doz. Vest buttons 1/6
1/4 doz dos Inlaid do [buttons]
1 Gold coat button
50 small Crosses
6 Ear Wheels
1 set pinchback buckles
2 rings fiddle strings
1 Ring Silver Basses

Quebec Papers Vol. B 75, Pgs 170-241 David McCrea & Co. of Michilimackinac accts with Wm. & John Kay of Montreal

2 doz Setts Pinchback Buckles
Ivory do [combs]
3 doz Setts Common do [buckles]
10 Glom Buttons for Jillets etc.
6 Gro white metal rings
6 Gro plain Bath do [rings]
6 gro. 3 Stone do [rings]
4 Gro 7 Stone do [rings]
2 gro. Plain yellow rings
4 doz. Brass Jews Harps
3 gro. Earrings
Bone Combs
Horn do [combs]
12 gro Brass rings
1 Gro stone earrings
2 gro. Large horn Buttons
4 hundred broaches [sic]
4 large arm bands
2 smaller do [arm bands]
1 Brass ring Dial
6 Broad Council Bells
31 narrow Beed [sic] Bells
300 pairs Silver Broaches [sic]
4 Gro Metal Crosses

Thomas Gage Papers, "An Account of Goods delivered to the several Indian Nations in the district of Michilimacanack by Robert Rogers Esq. Command: Between the 24 June and the 3d July 1767 which he purchased of George McDugall"

Gimps [silk w/ wire]
Coats
White wampum
Suits clothes
Vermillion
Shirts
Wampum

Thomas Gage Papers "Invoice of Goods, Presents to Indians in America shipped on board the Elizabeth, John Toone Master for Quebec and consigned to his Excellency Guy Carleton Esquire by John Pownall Esquire."

160 Men's plain Hats
120 broad tincel'd laced
94 Ditto [tincel'd] Rich broad gold laced
80 Men's bound Duffil [sic] great Coats
20 Boys Ditto Ditto [bound Duffil coats]
7 Doz: Men's 3/4 Irish shirts
7 Ditto Ditto 7/8 Ditto [Men's Irish shirts]
8 Ditto Ditto 8/8 Ditto Ruffled [Men's Irish shirts]
20 Ditto [pipes] short Indians
13 Gro: short Indian pipes

Thomas Gage Papers "A List of Such Goods as are proper & most necessary for the Indian Department to the amount of L11400 Sterling for the Year 1780

1500 yards inch broad Tinsel Lace all Yellow
60 Doz looking glasses in gilt paper cases
100 pieces Tinsel, 18 Yds each very gaudy
6 Gross solid enlaid [sic] coat buttons
50 large silver medals
100 smaller Do [silver medals]
200 pair large strong silver arm bands with The King's Arms engraved on them…
200 pair silver wrist bands such as were sent in the year 1779

Thomas Gage Papers, "An estimate of Indian Presents at a Moderate Calculation requisite for this Post for twelve Months, Michilimackinac for the Year 1782"

1800 ditto red mock Garnets
300 ditto red bruised beads
100 Groce plain yellow bath Rings
100 Groce Stone
15 Groce Cut Steel inlaid breast buttons
15 do do Coat do. [?]
60 Groce common Crosses
6 Groce strong sleeve buttons
600 Ear Wheels
600 Boxes or/Relliquaries
1500 plain Rings
20000 small Broaches
200 large Scolopt Broaches [sic]
200 middling do do [Scolopt Broches]
400 small do do [Scolopt Broaches]
14 Thousand Pr. Ear bobs
600 large Crosses
400 middling do [crosses]
200 Small do [crosses]

Thomas Gage Papers, "The Merchandize herby permitted to be bought and sold to be at the hereafter nam'd prices

Piece of Good Gimp [silk w/ wire]
300 Wampum
The largest silver Arm Band
Second size arm band
pair silver wrist bands
pair silvre [sic] ear bobs
12 silver brooches
2 large silver crosses
A silver hairplate the Best S.

Sources: Armour, David A., and Keith R. Widder 1978, Askin 1778a, Askin 1778b, Gage 1767-1782, Macomb et al 1766-1781, Macomb et al 1780-1784, McCrea et al N.D., Solomon 1783

APPENDIX B

MedCalc.org software was used for null hypothesis calculations. The null hypothesis is that there is no statistically significant difference between the percentage of *treyf* remains found at House C and House D. The alternative hypothesis is that there is a statistically significant difference between the percentages of *treyf* remains found at House C and House D. If P is equal to or less than 0.05, then the null hypothesis is accepted. If P is greater than 0.05, then the null hypothesis is rejected. MedCalc uses the "N-1" Chi-squared test as recommended by Campbell (2007) and Richardson (2011) (MedCalc Software 2019). The confidence interval is calculated according to the recommended method given by Altman et al. (2000) (MedCalc Software 2019).

TABLE B1: KOSHER VS. NON-KOSHER FAUNAL REMAINS HOUSE C

Type	*Fragment # (NISP)*	*Fragment weight (g)*	*Biomass (Kg)*
Bird Treyf Subtotal	131	67.5	1.360
Mammal Treyf Subtotal	200	853.1	13.950
Fish Treyf Subtotal	54	20	0.402
Treyf Subtotal	385	940.6	15.712
Total, all remains	71455	5071	72.067
Total, identified remains	3417	2357.3	37.824
% all remains that are Treyf	0.5 %	18.5 %	22%
% identified remains that are Treyf	11.3 %	39.9 %	42%

TABLE B2: KOSHER VS. NON-KOSHER FAUNAL REMAINS HOUSE D

Type	*Fragment # (NISP)*	*Fragment weight (g)*	*Biomass (Kg)*
Bird Treyf Subtotal	26	6.9	0.15
Mammal Treyf Subtotal	53	117.8	2.046
Fish Treyf Subtotal	67	6.9	0.15
Treyf Subtotal	146	131.6	2.346
Total, all remains	70566	1280	15.29
Total, identified remains	3550	466.1	7.03
% all remains that are Treyf	0.2 %	10.2 %	15%
% identified remains that are Treyf	4.1 %	28.2 %	33%

TABLE B3: NULL HYPOTHESIS ANALYSIS OF NON-KOSHER REMAINS

	Fragment # (NISP)	***Fragment Weight (g)***	***Biomass (Kg)***
% of all remains, Treyf	P=0.3400	P=0.5174	P=0.9282
% of identified remains, Treyf	P=0.2766	P=0.7075	P=0.9259

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